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6. ITE, MISSA EST[1]

In the 1780s, during the reign of the enlightened Emperor Joseph II, the Bohemian religious institutes were sunk in gloom accompanied by slight nervousness, in places unconcealed panic, caused by the Church policy of the monarch, which dealt the final blow to the lush Baroque way of life which was coming to an end in the monasteries, friaries and colleges. It is not the purpose of this study to describe the broad political background which caused, among other things, the dissolution of the college of the Irish Franciscans; this has been done elsewhere and better by others, above all by Eduard Winter,[2] but let us at least mention some of the significant moments in the process of reform.

The Josephine reforms affected the monasteries of Bohemia and Moravia, as well as those in the hereditary (Habsburg) lands. The sovereign's decree of the Imperial office from the end of 1781, for the registration of all houses of mendicant and contemplative orders which served no practical purpose, boded no good. With the legal backing of the Patent of 12 January 1782, the first wave of dissolutions of monastic houses took place in the years 1782 to 1784. At the same time, further steps were taken; monasteries were brought under the influence of the state, exemptions in particular were abolished (monasteries were removed from the judicial power of local bishops) as were the orders' own colleges, general seminaries being introduced for all orders. The second wave, that is, the one that also swept away the College of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary in Prague's New Town, began in 1786.

Accounts of life in the college, hidden in transalpine Prague from the general definitory as well as the leadership of the Irish province, reveal that monastic precepts had been taken out of the control, not only of the order, but also of the Catholic Church itself. It is no coincidence that, as early as the visitation of 1737, we can guess at the visitation commission's suspicion that the college was losing its original vocation; how can we otherwise understand one of the questions they put to the friars, asking whether the education of missionaries was in fact the main purpose of the college?

Dissolution was consequently just a logical step in the historical decline and fall of the Franciscan college of Irish exiles.

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CONVENTUS

On 12 September 1786, commissioners arrived at the Irish college to announce to its members that, by the will of the sovereign, Emperor Joseph II, in accordance with the court decree issued on 7 September, the college was dissolved. At the same time, the physical liquidation of the college began.[3] This is the date to be found in the report for the Clerical Commission at Court (*geistliche Hofkomission*), in particular for Karl, Count Clary, president of the commission.[4]

It relates that the former librarian, Father Anthony O'Brien, handed over the catalogue and the key to the (unsigned) commissioner and, continuing in accordance with the decree, he had a list made of the members of the college. The treasury was doubtless sealed and other measures taken. The clerics, the teachers and the lay brothers were allocated a daily sum of forty kreutzer, while the last guardian, Thomas O'Hogan, was awarded one florin. The latter also verified the document with his signature.

On the same day, a list was made of the friars in the college. From a total of fifty people (of whom thirteen were lay brothers), only a few were missing, for example, Fr. Anthony Coskran, Fr. Francis Conelly and Fr. John Commins, who were acting as tutors in aristocratic families.

It cannot be supposed that, after everything that had happened, the news that the college was being dissolved came like a bolt from the blue. The report of the finding of 132 "lost" florins, a full quarter of the alms gathered from the Litoměřice region, on 19 September can be understood as a reaction to the pressure by the state officials for all the cash in the college to be secured. On 3 October, the guardian, O'Hogan, and the vicar, Farrell, issued a confirmation that the gatherers had handed all of the alms over to the college. As early as 2 October, the Chamber Accounting Office (*Kammeral Zahlamt*) transferred the total capital of the Irish college, amounting to 38,977 florins 24 kreutzer, to the Religious Fund (*Religionsfond*) that was established to administer the assets of abolished monasteries.

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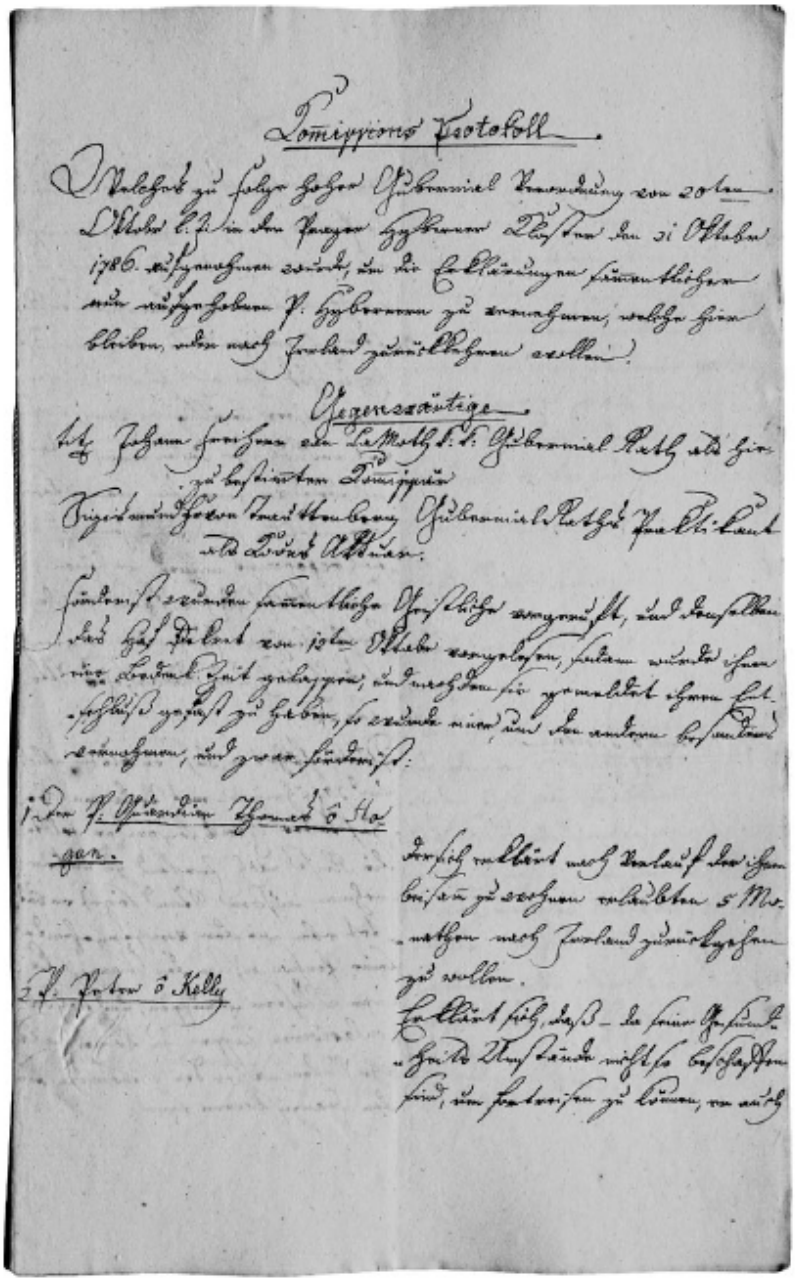

Fig. 34 A protocol of interrogation from the year 1786. Irish Franciscans declared whether they want to stay in Bohemia, or to go back to Ireland (NA).

The liquidation progressed systematically and quite quickly. On 21 October, in the presence of the regional counsellor and *ad hoc* commissioner Baronet de la Mothe-Fénelon and his assistant Baronet of Trauttenberg, a commission register was compiled which recorded the attitudes of the members of the college to their own futures. This means that, in contrast to the members of other monastic institutions, who received a pension, the Irish were asked whether they would agree to accept this pension and therefore remain in Bohemia or whether they would like to return to Ireland. In addition, there was even a court decree issued on 25 November offering the priests and lay brothers who were unable, due to old age or ill health, to undertake the long and arduous return to Ireland the possibility of applying to the diocesan bishop for secularisation. Let us look a little more closely at the prevailing mood among the members of the college and forget for the moment the fate of the college's property.

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As has already been stated, there were thirty-seven Irishmen in the college (Fig. 34). Of these, a full twenty-six, including the guardian, O'Hogan, and the former vicar, Farrell, expressed a determination to return home. During the writing down of the protocol, the remainder decided to stay in Bohemia. This mainly concerned the older members; sixty-six-year-old Peter O'Kelly, who had general rheumatism, as can also be seen from the shaky signature on his request of 14 October for a pension, and who proved by a confirmation dated 26 October from MUDr.[5] František Giesele that the illness required daily bathing and care. It also concerned seventy-two-year-old Anthony O'Brien, who was suffering from gout and therefore could not travel, although, as he put it, he would gladly have returned to Ireland. Several of those who were ill considered staying in Bohemia: the stone-deaf lector in theology, Peter Cosgrave, who evidently had long-term health problems,[6] and Denis Martin, who had had a stroke, gone deaf and could only communicate by signs. Even the mentally ill (*wahnsinnig*) Thomas O'Cornen, who was at this time in the hospital of the Brothers of Mercy, counted on staying permanently in Bohemia. Philip Cosgrave, a relative or even possibly a brother of the above Peter Cosgrave, expressed an interest in staying in Prague, evidently because of this relationship. However, there were also other reasons why some of the Irish did not wish to leave the Bohemian Crown Lands. Anthony Coskran was serving as a tutor with the Lobkovic family, which enabled him, in contrast to some of his confrères, to establish a real connection with the local population. The young James Collins and Patrick Conway wanted to complete the course in theology in order to be ordained priests. Documents characteristically give an account of the official proceedings: the regional government checked up on their requests at the archbishopric.[7] Another friar, Anthony O'Dolan, stated in his request that he had served for ten years as chaplain with Imperial troops of French and English origin and would like to continue doing so.

It seems, however, that wounded vanity played a significant role in the initial decision-making, causing the Franciscan Order to lean demonstratively towards a return home. In the course of time (quite a short time) many of the Irish realised, not only how far away home was, but also the difficulties they might again meet with there, despite the fact that the situation in Ireland had improved dramatically in 1782,[8] now that the Penal Laws had been partially repealed and Catholic clergy were again allowed to live in the country.

The case of the forty-one-year-old[9] Thomas Clancy, who was a *lector primarius*, could serve as an example. He had told the commission that within five months he intended to travel to Ireland, but as early as 6 January 1787 he applied for secularisation and a pension. The

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Archbishop of Prague, Antonín Petr, Count Příchovský of Příchovice, quickly granted his application for secularisation on 25 January. He later, on 22 May, received a pension of 200 florins in accordance with the court decree. One month later, however, he accepted a further 200 florins as a grant towards his journey to Ireland (*Reisegeld*), which indicates that the state authorities took his original decision as binding. The following year, however, they could still have come across Clancy in Prague, as he had applied for his pension to be extended due to his poor state of health, substantiated by a certificate from MUDr. Josef Kašpar Šťastný.[10] This was also repeated in 1789, with a certificate from the same doctor attached to the application and, for greater credibility, yet another from a MUDr. Müller.[11] After that, when nothing was heard of Clancy for several years, at the very end of spring 1796, he was applying to the archbishopric for a letter of discharge (*litterae dimissoriales*) because he was leaving for Ireland.[12] Not even that was his final word: on 9 August 1798, the regional government was asking the consistory under what conditions Thomas Clancy and Thomas O'Hogan would be given an annual pension of 200 florins, and calling for the consistory to create a commission to determine whether the above-named were at all suitable persons to undertake the office of secular priest.[13]

Anthony Geraghty went through a similar process. On 25 October 1786, he declared[14] that he wished to return to Ireland. On 30 March 1787, he applied for a pension accompanied by a certificate from the same MUDr. Šťastný, saying that at the age of thirty-one he had rheumatism.[15] On the basis of this, he received the pension on 14 June, together with permission to stay in the country for one year. At the end of January 1788, he attempted, with a certificate referring to rheumatism (from MUDr. Josef Jindřich Bauer), to gain a pension for a further period[16] and evidently achieved his objective because the following year he applied again, on the basis of the medical opinion of (none other than) MUDr. Müller and MUDr. Šťastný.[17]

As mentioned above, the guardian, Thomas O'Hogan and the oldest Father of the community (*senior pater*), James O'Kelly, also eventually applied for a pension.[18] Together with Thomas Clancy, they received this in accordance with the above-mentioned decree of 22 May. Thomas O'Hogan then, together with Clancy, applied for a letter of discharge in 1796.

Francis Crowley also wished to be pensioned off, but his repeated requests were not granted, so that he finally received 300 florins travelling expenses and left for Vienna to see *Platz-Major* O'Sullivan, as Thomas O'Hogan informed the authorities on 20 August of that year.[19] In May 1788, proceedings began regarding Crowley's transfer to the diocese of Linz.[20]

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John Fitzpatrick, who had originally committed himself to return to Ireland within five months, entered into the service of Count Marcolini as a tutor and began to teach his children. In 1792, therefore, he applied for secularisation,[21] but, in February 1799, the regional authorities were dealing with his pension, so it seems likely that in the end he remained in Bohemia.

Those who had decided to return to Ireland already began to leave Bohemia in December 1786. O'Hogan always informed the regional authorities of departures; for example, Father F. Fitzgerald and Brother J. Plunkett departed on 10 December, Father J. Collins (he clearly, like Father Conway, did not complete the course in theology) and Father A. O'Brien on 15 December,[22] and then Father P. Conway and Brother B. O'Donell on 27 December.[23] According to Bílek's unverified account, twenty-one Irishmen left Bohemia.[24]

As regards the friars, we know about fourteen who went to other Irish Franciscan religious institutes. James Connolly,[25] Anthony O'Reilly, John Commins,[26] and James Plunkett[27] headed to Boulay college. We have no idea what happened to them after this friary had been closed down. Bonaventura O'Donell went to Rome in 1786 to be ordained a priest there the next year.[28]

Nine friars from the Prague college returned to Ireland. Francis Gallagher went to St Anthony's college in Louvain[29] and then served as guardian of Donegal friary up until 1804.[30] Anthony Collins is mentioned as guardian of Ennis house in 1788.[31] Patrick Harty was vicar of Boulay in 1787,[32] then moved to Roscrea in 1790 to be guardian there,[33] Nenagh was his next house from 1791 to 1806[34] and finally he was guardian of Bantry in 1815.[35] Michael Egan was ordained a priest in Prague in 1786.[36] He was subsequently guardian of a number of friaries: Ennis in 1790,[37] Roscrea in 1793,[38] Ennis in 1794[39] and again in 1796[40] and finally Castlelyons from 1800 to 1801.[41] In 1802, he relocated to the United States and in 1808, he was appointed the first Bishop of Philadelphia.[42] Ambrose Cassidy[43] was guardian of Bonamargy from 1800 to 1803[44] and Derry from 1804 to 1824.[45] Joseph Joyce, who had been ordained a priest in Rome in 1783,[46] went first to Prague and then probably back to Ireland although we have no reliable information about this. Perhaps he became guardian of Dromahaire friary from 1819 to 1825.[47] Francis O'Neill is mentioned as guardian of Dromore in 1788,[48] of Armagh in 1791,[49] and of Dungannon from 1793 to 1815.[50] Thomas Lorcan[51] was guardian of Kinaleghin from 1800 to 1804.[52]

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Anthony O'Brien left Prague back in 1786.[53] The chapter bill of 1791 lists two Anthony O' Briens: the first was guardian of Youghall, the second of Galbally.[54] Which of them was in Prague still remains a mystery.

In the Irish college, however, there were still thirteen lay brothers, but they were all Czech or German. Three of them, evidently the oldest, were accepted at their own request by the Franciscans of Our Lady of the Snows.[55] According to the protocol, the others favoured secularisation and a pension.[56]

Here, the Irish Franciscans vanish from the sources. How many of them actually remained in Prague or Bohemia till the end of their lives we have not been able to discover. We may suppose that it was difficult for the oldest members of the college to succeed in embarking on the arduous journey across the whole of Europe and that they found eternal rest in the Bohemian Crown Lands.[57] One Irish Franciscan of whose further religious activity we have indisputable proof is Francis Conelly, who was chaplain in the private chapel of Baron of Hildebrand in Slabce.[58]

Apart from the friars, several other people, whom we could call civilian personnel, worked within the college. They are referred to in the sources by the German expression *"die weltliche Dienstleute."* We can learn about them from a document dated 27 November 1786, containing the outstanding amounts owed by the Irish Franciscans to these seven secular employees (a total of 16 florins 52 kreutzer). Their trades correspond to the needs of the college; organist, cook, assistant in the sacristy, gardener, tailor, laundress and bookbinder.[59]

Thus, after one hundred and fifty-seven years in the heart of Europe, concludes the history of the Franciscan College of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary by St. Ambrose. Now let us examine what the college was like in the period when the friars were leaving it and what exactly its assets were during its liquidation.

BONA: MOBILIA ET IMMOBILIA[60]

The 1791 application[61] by three merchants in the dyeing industry, Piccard, Euler and Compaque, to buy the former Irish Franciscan college also included a description of the building which had been recorded in their estimate at the beginning of 1787[62] by four Prague specialists in this field, the builders Filip Hejer and Jan Želnický and the gardeners Václav Ryšlánek and

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Jan Adamec According to their testimony, the two-storey building of the college measured fifty-three Viennese fathoms on the side facing Dlážděná street and twenty-five Viennese fathoms on the front side facing towards the Old Town. The garden with two *altans* and a stable with one stall and a small chamber extended over 1,546 square Viennese fathoms and the area of the two courtyards was 528 square Viennese fathoms. On the ground floor of the building above the vaults was a kitchen with all the requisite tableware of copper and iron utensils and several small rooms, including a pantry, a corn store and cellars, a refectory with a small storeroom for tablecloths, brass and tin tableware and a billiard room (*Piliard Zimmer*) with various furnishings such as a billiard table, one four-sided and one five-sided playing table, a small glass table, ten leather chairs, three benches, six coffee cups, a porcelain punch bowl with a tin dipper and an old gun with a broken trigger, probably used as a decoration. On the first floor, there were eight rooms with heating and thirty-six small cells without. In the other wing of the second floor was the library, the archives and another nine rooms with heating, and fifteen cells. The library consisted of an anteroom with a cabinet for books, two shelves and a chair, and the library hall with shelves along all four walls. On the second floor was a guest room furnished with book shelves, a chair, a sofa, a table, a kneeler, a bed with green hangings, and a washstand. Then there was an infirmary building which included a cabinet maker's workshop, a theological school with a pulpit and benches, and a philosophical school which has not been used for some time. On the second floor was a pharmacy with two big apothecary cabinets full of glass and earthen utensils, a large oil painting of St. Patrick and a ceiling painting of the Birth of the Virgin Mary. On the third floor was a sick bay with two rooms, each with two beds, a chapel for the sick with a small wooden altar and a painting of St. Didacus, a Marian picture under glass, and a room for convalescents. The rest was reserved for another guest room which was more lavish than the above-mentioned quarters, a pharmacist's room, a tailor's room, a workshop and a depository.

The wing facing Dlážděná street also had a second floor with twenty small rooms and a vaulted corridor. Here on the first floor there was also a space, belonging to Count Sweerts-Sporck, with two rooms and a passageway to the church. The estimated value of the assets, including the church, the garden and the courtyard, was 18,500 florins.

When drawing up the initial inventory, for understandable reasons, the state authorities had to commence sealing the treasury and taking over the property extremely quickly and efficiently. We have already mentioned the detailed financial inventory of 2 October 1786, carried out by the Chamber Accounting Office, as well as the overall sum of 38,977 florins 24

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kreutzer. The library was also closed and the keys handed over. On 2 and 10 November, the state librarian, Rafael Ungar, received the endowment deeds (*Stiftungbriefe*) from the Irish Franciscans.[63] There were fifty-three Mass endowments altogether, among them also those which had been arranged by other Irishmen: O'Byrn, O'Farrell, Kavanagh, Plunkett, Hamilton and Taaffe.[64] The documents from the archive sorted out by Ungar, of which one archive carton has been preserved, were stored in the Clementinum and only in this century added to the archives of other dissolved monasteries in the National Archives in Prague.

The protocol recording the assets of the college on 13 December 1787[65] gives the following figures:

cash – 1,092 florins 56 kreutzer
assets – 989 florins 24 kreutzer
endowment capital – 35,033 florins
4% annual interest on the capital sum of 3,537 florins 30 kreutzer amounts to – 141 florins 30 kreutzer
various arrears and money withheld for the college – 1,623 florins 45 kreutzer
real estate value – 12,500 florins
from the sale of wine – 527 florins 8 kreutzer
from the sale of eggs – 80 florins
from the sale of vinegar – 3 florins 8 kreutzer
from the sale of other items – 25 florins 15 kreutzer
from the sale of goods after the deduction of auction fees – 908 florins 41 kreutzer

This all came to a total of 56,320 florins 47 kreutzer, and then, after the deduction of liabilities, 55,002 florins 7 kreutzer. The protocol goes on to say that 4% interest from the total amount would bring in 2,200 florins 12 kreutzer annually. However, if annual pensions for nine priests of 200 florins each and for thirteen lay brothers of 150 florins each were taken into account, then the aggregate sum would come out at 3,750 florins per year, which would be 1,549 florins 48 kreutzer more than the calculated interest. To this would also have to be added the alms granted to the college by state institutions, originally in kind, later in cash (for example, the Salt Office paid 98 florins instead of fourteen casks of salt). In total, these *"Almosen von Aerario"* amounted to 2,313 florins.

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An inventory of the friars' cells gives us an interesting, though humdrum, insight into everyday life in the college. Let us look at three examples of these cells. The first is that of the last guardian, Thomas O'Hogan, who had in his room a sofa, six armchairs, eleven other chairs of different kinds, three small tables, a book shelf, a glassed-in cabinet for books, a wardrobe, a bed, a washstand, a cupboard, a clavichord, a counter, a kneeler, a grandfather clock, various books of his own and several pictures. Anthony Geraghty's room contained two tables, a clavichord, a cupboard, a cabinet, a kneeler, a sofa, a suitcase, six seats, an armchair, two other chairs, a bed, various books of his own, two crucifixes. Anthony Dolan had three small tables, an armchair, a washstand, three other chairs, a book shelf, a bed, various books of his own, a terrestrial globe and a celestial globe. Most of the friars owned books or had book shelves in their cells, which completes the picture of the intellectual background of the college.

Valuables and other objects from the church were initially left to the friars so that they could conduct divine worship. In the spring of 1788,[66] an inventory of church vessels, Mass vestments and church textiles was made. It mainly concerned less valuable items, that is, silver ciboriums, four silver chalices with patens, pewter candlesticks, lamps and jugs. These objects should have been transferred to the garrison church (that is, to the former Seminary Church of St. Adalbert), where they were also stored, but some of them ended up in the main depository in the Minim friary. A document from September of the same year has been preserved which lists the church's gold, silver, copper, brass and pewter valuables, plus fabrics and rare furniture. Not even this inventory is complete and the main inventory (*Hauptverzeichnis*) to which it refers has unfortunately not been preserved. According to the inventory, the item estimated as most valuable was a monstrance with six diamonds, a silver stand and a golden lunette (533 florins), then nineteen silver chalices with patens (778 florins). Books are also recorded in the list; six good large missals, five large old missals, two small missals, one sacramentary and twelve old books containing the requiem. The overall estimated value was 4,386 florins 24 kreutzer. Again, the objects were transferred to the Minim friary, the valuable gold and silver items were handed over to the Imperial and Royal Assay Office (*k. und k. Gold und Silber-Einlösungsamt*) for official valuation, a smaller quantity passed on to the consistory of the Prague Archbishopric for redistribution and some were sold off (at the estimated value plus a 10% surcharge). Among the buyers were, for example: František Zikan, canon of the Vyšehrad Chapter house, who bought an altar frontal, Mass vestments and canopies; the Irish Franciscan O'Dolan who thus obtained three silver chalices with patens; or Karel Rocker who bought a chasuble for the church in Plzeň.

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The last mention of objects from the church comes from 26 November 1791, when an inventory was made of items from the Irish Franciscan church, up to fifty florins in estimated value, which were transferred to the archdiocesan consistory to be divided among various parts of the diocese. The list consisted of a silver ciborium with a lid, silver chalices with patens, pewter lamps, Mass jugs, salvers, vestments in various liturgical colours and linen to the value of 362 florins.[67]

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Fig. 35 The interior of the Irish Franciscan church during structural adaptations between the two world wars (NPÚ).

We can follow the fate of the individual college buildings for longer. As we know, the Franciscans continued to live in the college for a time. In 1791, the three dyeing merchants, Piccard, Euler and Compaque, wanted to purchase the building. The following year, the State Banking Office expressed an interest, wanting to establish a customs and excise office.[68]

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Eventually, however, the Church put up the buildings, including the consecrated church, for public auction. Johann Franz Christian, Count Sweerts-Sporck, was successful at the auction. He owned the neighbouring palace and also claimed priority right to the college, thanks to the long-term contacts his predecessors had had with the Irish Franciscans. He paid 25,587 florins 33⅓ kreutzer for the whole complex.[69]

The Count may have intended to build a theatrical stage in the former college church (Fig. 35); from as early as 1789, for that matter, the Czech Patriotic Theatre (České vlastenecké divadlo) played here – in the former refectory – in Czech. With this objective in mind, Sweerts-Sporck had a substantial portico, later demolished, built in front of the church. A year after his death, that is, in 1803, Jan Rudolf, Count Chotek of Chotkov, bought the former college for 60,000 florins. Sweerts-Sporck's investment of 15,000 florins was included in the price. Chotek of Chotkov's plans were linked with the original idea of creating a customs and excise office in the building. Preparations, in particular the designs, dragged out for some time, so that they were not completed until 1807. The professor of architecture at Prague Polytechnic, Jiří Fischer, became the author of the plans for the adaptation, with the assistance of the Vienna court architect, Louis Montoyer. Fischer was also entrusted with management of the construction. To carry out the building alterations, he chose the Prague builder Josef Zobel, while Jan Želnický was charged with the carpentry (he had been involved in the 1787 estimate of the value of the building). The alterations, above all to the decorations, were also carried out by the stonemason Ludvík Kranner and the stucco artist František X. Lederer. The reconstruction was definitively completed in 1813. Due to rising prices during the Napoleonic Wars, the original budget doubled and ultimately exceeded half a million florins.

Up to the present day, the new customs and excise office has not undergone any significant alterations.[70]

The college of the "Hybernians" once gave the name to the square its façade looks out on – "Hybernské náměstí" – whereas the northern part of the square now called náměstí Republiky was named after the friary of the Capuchins, with whom the Irish had quarrelled in the early period. After 1870, the name was changed several times, but only returned to its original form during the German Protectorate.[71] At the beginning of the nineteenth century, but not before 1816,[72] Dlážděná ulice [Dlážděná street] which then led East from the former Irish Franciscan college towards the ramparts and fortification of St. Nicholas (where the Masaryk Railway Station is now), was renamed "Hybernská ulice" [Hybernian street]. This name has remained to

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the present day,[73] as with the exhibition hall in the former church called “U hybernů” [The Hibernians], even though most inhabitants of Prague have no idea where the name originated.

In 2006, the conversion of the church to a music theatre was completed.[74] The building was reverted to its first profane function, but its name *Divadlo Hybernia* [*Hybernia Theatre*] refers to much older times.

So before long only the name of the street will reflect those times when, in the very centre of Prague, in the streets around the Powder Gate, Irish could be heard and its reverberations mixed with the footsteps of men who had undertaken the long pilgrimage from Erin’s green isle, with the Latin and German words of the sermons on their celebrated patron saint, St. Patrick, and with the murmur of students who were learning theology according to the interpretation of John Duns Scotus from his learned successors.

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1 “Go forth, the Mass is ended.”

2 Mainly Eduard Winter, *Josefinismus a jeho dějiny. Příspěvky k duchovním dějinám Čech a Moravy 1740–1848* [*Josephinism and its History. Contributions to the Religious History of Bohemia and Moravia 1740–1848*] (Praha: Jelínek, 1945). The dissolution of the monasteries has been dealt with recently by Ondřej Bastl, see, for example, his “Rušení klášterů v Čechách a na Moravě za Josefa II.” [The Dissolution of the Religious Institutes in Bohemia and Moravia under Joseph II], *HG* 28 (1995): 155–173.

3 Records are in NA, ČG Publ, 1786–1795, 145/111/1786-7, carton no. 2729. Because individual documents do not have their own reference number, there is no point referring constantly to a carton number only. If we have used information from other sources, these will be cited.

4 See Bastl, “Rušení klášterů v Čechách a na Moravě,” 157.

5 MUDr. is an abbreviation of the academic title *medicinae universae doctor*, i.e. Doctor of Medicine.

6 He stated that at the age of 36 his fontanelle had to be open.

7 NA, APA, carton no. 2101.

8 Theodore W. Moody and Francis X. Martin eds., *Dějiny Irska* [*The Course of Irish History*] (Praha: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 1996) 160–170.

9 On 25.4.1788, he stated that he was forty-one years old and enclosed a certificate of ordination to the priesthood in Rome on 19.12.1772, see NA, ČG Publ, 1786–1795, 145/111/1789-93, carton no. 2731.

10 Ibid., 1786–1795, 145/111/1788, carton no. 2730.

11 Ibid., carton no. 2731.

12 NA, APA, carton no. 2101. The request was received on 16.6.1796.

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13 Ibid.

14 He was not present at the initial commission hearing. The guardian stated that he would like to return.

15 NA, ČG Publ, carton no. 2731.

16 Ibid., carton no. 2730.

17 Ibid., carton no. 2731.

18 He is signed as *senior pater* on the commission protocol from 21.10.1786. In the protocol, he stated that he wished to return to Ireland but only after he had confirmed an "inventory" (he may have meant a transfer protocol). According to the same document, he had lived in the college for thirty-four years. On 13 February, he requested secularisation. In the certification of ordination dated 20.9.1767, attached to the second request from 16.4.1787, the Archbishop of Prague A.P. Příchovský of Příchovice confirmed that James O'Kelly had been ordained a priest in the archbishopric chapel on 21.9.1754.

19 At that time, O'Sullivan possibly knew that he would be sent to the city garrison in Prague as is stated in *Schematismus für das Königreich Böheim 1789, Prag 1789*, 124.

20 NA, APA, carton no. 2101

21 Ibid., request dated 23.8.1792.

22 Report dated 21.12.1786.

23 Report dated 25.1.1787.

24 Tomáš V. Bílek, *Statky a jmění kollejí jesuitských, klášterů, kostelů, bratrstev a jiných ústavů v království českém od císaře Josefa II. zrušených* [*The Property and Assets of the Jesuit Colleges, Monasteries, Churches, Fraternities and Other Institutions in the Kingdom of Bohemia Dissolved by Emperor Joseph II*] (Praha: Frant. Bačkovský, 1893) 229. Some of the other data in Bílek's report is not reliable: the number of persons in the Irish Franciscan college (only forty-nine) and the date of the dissolution of the college (12.2.1786).

25 Anselm Faulkner O.F.M. ed., *Liber Dubliniensis. Chapter documents of the Irish Franciscans 1719–1875* (Killiney: Franciscan Friars 1978) 167, 171 reports on his stay in Boulay in 1787 to 1788. His death is announced in the chapter bill of 23 July 1793, ibid., 182. He defended his thesis in Prague in 1780, and in 1782 was a student of theology there. Hereinafter quoted as *Liber Dubliniensis*.

26 *Liber Dubliniensis*, 167. Mentioned on 9 May 1787 as an instructor of youths and novices. Benignus Millett, "Some lists of Irish Franciscans in Prague, 1656–1791," *Collectanea hibernica* 36–37 (1994–5): 80–81. The first information about him in Prague says he was a vicar in 1782.

27 Ibid., 171. Mentioned on 14 July 1788 as a lector of moral theology in Boulay.

28 Matthäus Hösler, "Irishmen ordained at Prague, 1629–1786," *Collectanea hibernica* 33 (1991): 53. Tonsure and minor orders 10 June 1786, subdiaconate 2 December 1786.

29 *Liber Dubliniensis*, 175. Mentioned on 18 May 1790 as a lector of theology. According to Millett, "Some lists of Irish Franciscans in Prague," 81, he was already a lector of theology and discreet in Prague in 1782.

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30 Ibid., 185. Mentioned as guardian, *lector iubilatus* of theology and *ex-custos*. Also in 1796, ibid., 189; 1800, ibid., 192; 1801, ibid., 196, 1803, ibid., 199; 1804, ibid., 203. In 1806, Gallagher is listed among the deceased members of the Irish province, ibid., 206.

31 Ibid., 170. Anthony Collins came to the Prague college as a student in 1782. Two years later, he was a lector of philosophy.

32 Ibid., 167.

33 Ibid., 174.

34 Ibid., 177, 181, 184, 188, 191, 195, 198, 202, 205.

35 Ibid., 208.

36 Hösler, "Irishmen ordained at Prague," 53. On 10 June 1786.

37 *Liber Dubliniensis*, 173.

38 Ibid., 181.

39 Ibid., 184.

40 Ibid., 188.

41 Ibid., 192 and 195.

42 Maelísa Ó Huallacháin, OFM., "Notebook 36 of Father Laurence Browne, O.F.M.," *Collectanea hibernica* 44–45 (2002–2003): 281.

43 Hösler, "Irishmen ordained at Prague," 53. On 14 June 1783, Cassidy received tonsure and four minor orders.

44 *Liber Dubliniensis*, 192, 196, 199.

45 Ibid., 203, 209, 212, 216, 219.

46 Ibid., 282.

47 Ibid., 212, 215, 218, 222. Dromahaire is listed under its Latin name Petrae Patricii.

48 Ibid., 171.

49 Ibid., 178.

50 Ibid., 182, 186, 189, 192, 196, 199, 203, 206, 209.

51 Hösler, "Irishmen ordained at Prague," 53. Lorcan received tonsure and minor orders on 17 December 1785 and he was ordained a subdiacon on 10 June 1786.

52 *Liber Dubliniensis*, 192, 195, 199, 202.

53 His biographical data see below in the section *Members of the Franciscan College of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary in Prague (1629–1786)*. He already defended his thesis in 1772.

54 *Liber Dubliniensis*, 177.

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55 On 17 February 1787, the provincial Fr. František Bartoň notified the regional government that at Our Lady of the Snows they had accepted three lay brothers from the Irish Franciscan college, namely, Anton Gasser (83), Josef Martini (78) and František Raab (60).

56 Otto Reschka, Benevenut Král, Josef Kasseker, Dominik Smrčka, Bonaventura Phlimbl, Jan Handel, Pacificus Spirrman, Damián Kuželka, Kilián Mess and Paschal Finck.

57 Bílek, *Statky a jmění kollejí*, 229, states that twenty-one priests returned to Ireland. It is noteworthy that the interest of the Irish in the fate of the lay brothers did not die down for a long time after the dissolution of the college, as evidenced by a report on the death of three of them – Dominik, Damián and Otto – in the record from the provincial chapter in 1803 (*Liber Dubliniensis*, 200).

58 Conelly is mentioned as late as 1789, see *Catalogus universi cleri archi-diaecesani Pragensis in cura animarum existentis*, Vetero-Pragae 1789, 5.

59 NA, ČG Publ, carton no. 2729, the following names are given: Antonín Čermák, organist; František Biba, cook (*Kucheling*); Prokop Hřebíček, assistant (*Bedienster*) in the sacristy; Jakub Hartig, gardener; Matyáš Rašek, tailor; Kateřina Kuncová, laundress; Bernard Poslušný, bookbinder.

60 "Assets: movables and immovables."

61 NA, ČG Publ, carton no. 2731. The document arrived at the regional government 14.11.1791.

62 The estimate is dated 18 January. Another document which described the college in detail was the inventory, NA, CSÚ, carton no. 293. *Inventarium über das Vermögen des aufgehobenen Klosters des P. P. Hiberner in der Neustadt Prag adjustiert 7. August 1787*. The following picture of the college is a combination of information taken from these two sources.

63 Librarian Rafael Ungar to the regional government, 11.11.1786.

64 The list of Mass endowments from 5.8.1787.

65 During the process of secularisation of the college, the estimated amounts of money changed. This is the last assessment we know about.

66 22.4.1788, see NA, ČG Publ, carton no. 2730.

67 Ibid., carton no. 2731.

68 Růžena Baťková ed., *Umělecké památky Prahy. Nové Město, Vyšehrad, Vinohrady* [*The Artistic Monuments of Prague: New Town, Vyšehrad and Vinohrady*] (Praha: Academia, 1998) 548.

69 Alois Kubíček, "Adaptace kláštera hybernů na celnici" [The Adaptation of the College of the Irish Franciscans into a Customs and Excise Office], *Umění* 3 (1955): 41–42.

70 Ibid.

71 See Jiří Čarek, Václav Hlavsa, Josef Janáček and Václav Lím, *Ulicemi města Prahy od 14. století do dneška* [*Through the Streets of Prague from the Fourteenth Century to the Present Day*] (Praha: Orbis, 1958) 65;

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later Marek Lašťovka ed., *Pražský uličník. Encyklopedie názvů pražských veřejných prostranství, 1. díl (A–N)* [*Prague Street Guide. An Encyclopedia of the Names of the Public Spaces in Prague, Volume 1 (A–N)*] (Praha: Libri, 1997) 577ff.

72 Jütter's plan from 1816 still shows Hybernská ulice as "Pflastergasse," i.e. Paved Street (Dlážděná ulice). See a facsimile edition with commentary and explanatory notes: *Plán Prahy z roku 1816* [*The Plan of Prague of 1816*]. Prepared for publication by F. Roubík, K. Kuchař and V. Hlavsa (Praha: Kartografie Praha, 1972).

73 Čarek, Hlavsa, Janáček and Lím, *Ulicemi města Prahy*, 65, and Lašťovka ed., *Pražský uličník*, 228ff.

74 On the reconstruction, see Richard Biegler's article, "Rekonstrukce kostela Neposkvrněného početí Panny Marie (tzv. Paláce u Hybernů) na muzikálové divadlo" [The Reconstruction of the Church of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary (the Palace of Hybernians) into a Musical Theatre], *Za starou Prahu. Věstník klubu za starou Prahu* 30.3 (2000): 7–9. The author criticised the approach of the investors and officials involved in the reconstruction as insensitive and even uncivilised, and mentioned that the demolition work was extensive.

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